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and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal
 kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or
 blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of
 embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-
 woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched
 together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as
 stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff
 pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with
 designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving,
 such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
 walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the
 area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of
 carving, however, almost none of these products ever
 reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only
 the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer
 them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a
 few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these
 transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
 has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal
 for winter fuel are important services performed by the
 villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the
 summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
 town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such
 as sherbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and
 water, aw, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumber-
 some wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and
 willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

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be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated.

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On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran.

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Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called masu, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children.

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562 keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."²⁶. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"²⁷. In regard to marriage and the polygyny sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane²⁸ declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:²⁹ "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

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[581] It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families³⁰. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja³¹ of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qā'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussin Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.

Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).



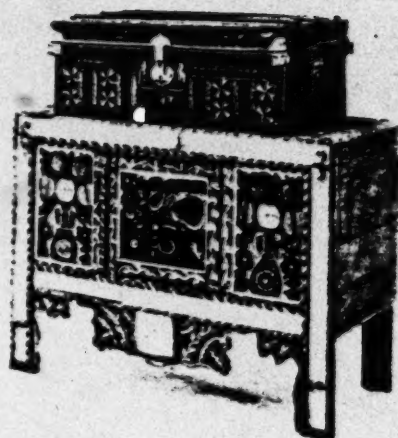


Fig. 27. Tin chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burāq*. Toprawa.

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415 decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *k'illa*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *s'mūg* (E. 2278). Made in the *sūq* of Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a gariishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding animal with a woman's head, *Burāq*, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects²⁴.

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352 The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There, for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilisation of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

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Production of clay vessels

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Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargah.

Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the flat is used both by men and women. Balkha.

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be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp points in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

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The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type are sold in the *shy* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual women for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel⁹⁷. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

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Women's dress . Kurdish elements

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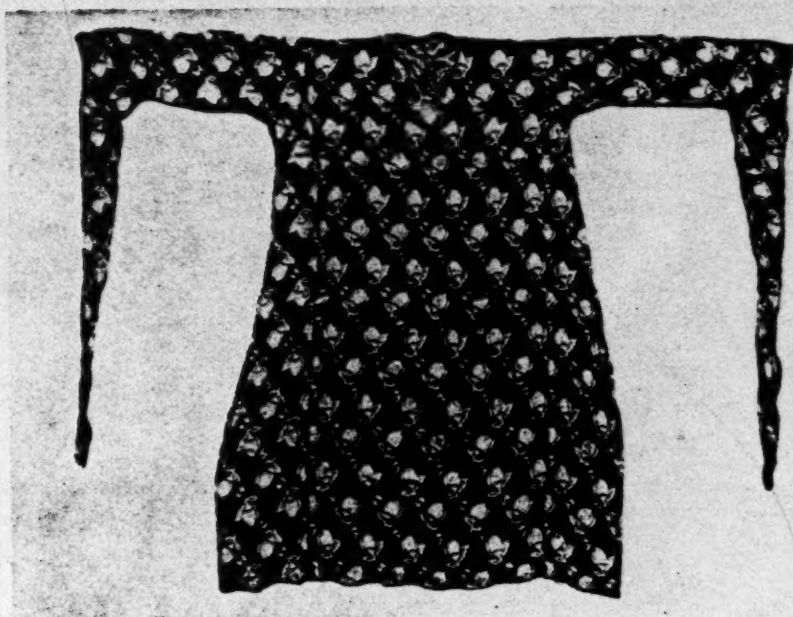
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Fig. 51. Woman's kirtle (E. 2335) of pink chiffon with white flowers. (Cf. diagram fig. 66).

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Fig. 52. Diagram.
Cut of waistcoat
(E. 2336). Scale 1:30.



Fig. 53. Waistcoat (E. 2336) of rose brocade lined
with white cotton.

Women's dress . Kurdish elements

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Fig. 55. Caftan (E. 2342) of violet brocade, wadded and quilted, lined with white cotton.

Woman's dress - Kurdish elements

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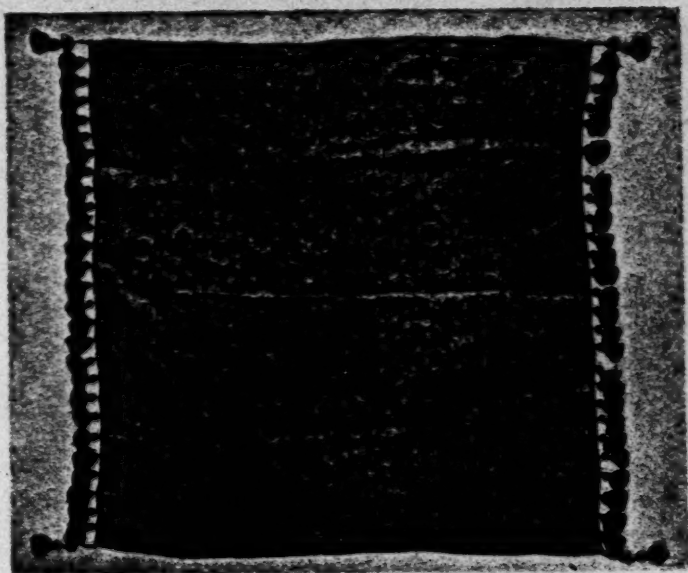


Fig. 57. Shoulder cloth (E. 2343) of brocade. The tassels of the two upper corners are tied together and the cloth hangs around the shoulders covering the back.

bound together at the neck so that the plaits with the tassels hang down the back outside the neck veil. The material is brocade. The turban cloth lies slant around the head in circles¹⁹, and outside is bound²⁰ the forehead cloth (E. 2347), 0.83 m. x 0.80 m., made of thin silk, black with brown and white pattern, a quite different colour scheme from that distinguishing the other elements of the dress, where heliotrope, crimson and turquoise predominate. It is folded diagonally and tied slantwise over the brow in the opposite direction to the turban cloth, is knotted at the neck, the ends being concealed under the wound cloth. Outside the turban, pinned slant, are chains of jewellery inset turquoise and Persian coins.

The head cloth or head veil, *siyêk*, (E. 2337, E. 2348) is 1.60 m. to 2.00 m. long and 0.72 m. to 0.84 m. wide, of thin gauze, white or coloured, seamless and hanging loose. A married woman places it over the turban, whilst an unmarried girl wears it direct on the hair where it constitutes her only headgear. Scarves or belts can be worn, but are not essential. The value of a married woman's dress of this kind, apart from jewellery, is about 10 Din. — £10.

There can either be no footwear, if the woman prefers to go bare-footed as is often the case at home, or wooden slippers with a heel and a strap over the instep, *qalqal*, (E. 2338) 0.23 m. long, or perhaps

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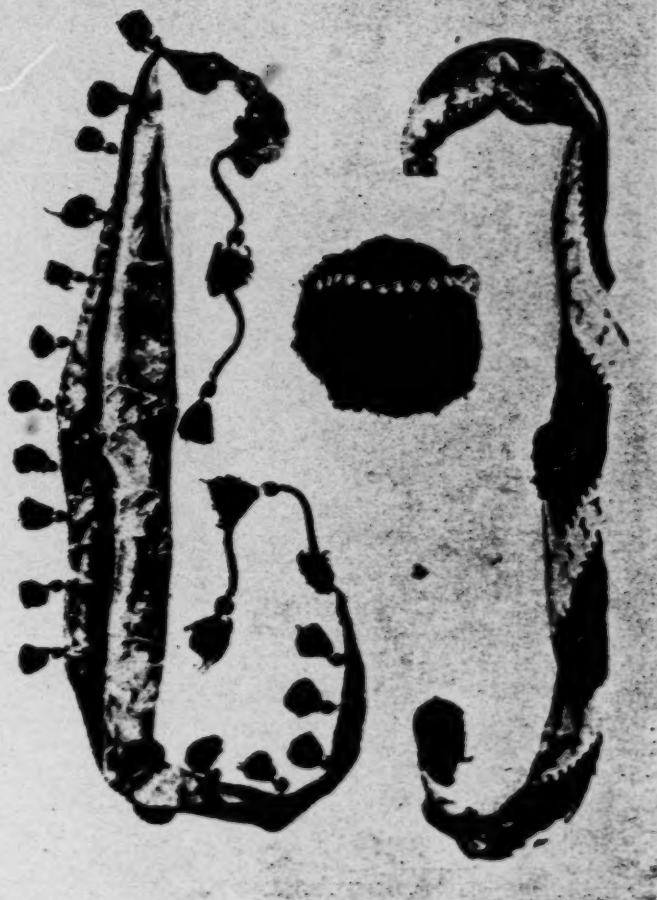
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Fig. 58. The elements of the married woman's turban arrangement: cap (E. 2344) of black felt with chain (E. 2288) of blue glass beads, turban cloth (E. 2346) of brocade with tassel, and forehead cloth (E. 2347) of black, white, and brown patterned raw silk.

Women's dress. Elements connected with Islam

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embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, *qandil* or *papad*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left foot are identical. European footwear of "Bata's" make, from high-heeled black patent leather to summer shoes, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-head men's shoes of European manufacture. 291
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Elements connected with Islam. External garment and veil. Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, *abd-e-piça*, which completely concealed both the face and body. 292

The face veil, *piça*, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.46 m. x 0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

The cloak, *abd*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion 291

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Fig. 59. Women wearing the black veil and the black cloak, *abd*, dressed for leaving the home. Sulaimani.



Fig. 60. Diagram showing the cut of the *abd* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the tuck. Scale 1:30.

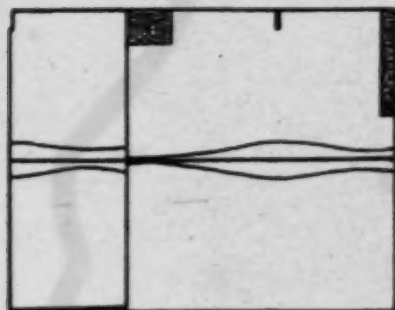




Fig. 62. Village aristocracy. Married women's dress, front and back. Topzawa.

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The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black face veil and the black *abâ*, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Sulaimani or places further distant like Kirkuk and Mosul.

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The ordinary peasant environment. Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried woman and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja as turban, but the whole skull cap covered with silver coins (E. 2352) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant woman did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of flowered cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Topzawa and Rakawa are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the villages of Serkan is vermillion, and in Mirza Rustam black, *rang sîl*, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheet²¹. During work at Topzawa the lower

Elements of male dress

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Fig. 70. Left: men's dress of Kowakian type. Right: men's dress of Sahimani type.

Fig. 71. Men's dress of Sahimani type. The broad-shaped cuffs of the sleeves are wound round the arms.

The elements of men's dress. Insofar as I had an opportunity to study it, men's dress in Southern Kurdistan presents a less complicated picture than women's. However, men's dress also contains special Kurdish and foreign elements. The genuine Kurdish male dress is a tunic costume². Two types can be determined, each connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the Sahimani region, the other of the district around Kowakian.

Kurdish elements. Shirt, *hale*, (E. 2714) is made of plain, white cotton material. In cut, it is a short-sleeved jumpsuit-style², 0.86 m. long and a span of 1.36 m. Open in the front, it is fixed with a low collar. The shirt's breadth over the shoulders is 0.67 m. Two sleeves, 0.34 m. long and 0.38 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at acute angle. These sleeves terminate in broad-shaped cuffs, like those known in Syrian male dress². The cuffs gripping the arms by 0.24 m. and long down 1.10 m. like long gauntlets exactly the same as the sleeves of a woman's kirtle. Just as with the women's dress, these broad-shaped cuffs are drawn out through the garment worn above the shirt, and wound around

Elements of male shoe

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Fig. 10. Elements of shoe. Left: women's shoe (E. 1957); above, right: shoe from the shoe (E. 1957); below, left: the sole of the shoe is made from strips of cloth; below, right: small button (E. 1957) for holding the strips, inside and under the button strip and under the button (E. 1957).

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Fig. 61. Full costume (E. 2286, cap (E. 2287) surrounded by various items (E. 2288), and scarf (E. 2289).
Fig. 62. Swords and daggers. From left to right: E. 2280 with E. 2286, E. 2286, E. 2287 with E. 2286. Belts:
cap embroidered with gold and silk (E. 2288).

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later in adopting the trouser costume, by shortening the long culottes in favour of short trousers and jacket, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the long pointed ends of the shirt across that could be tied round an object, the waist ends in which a cloth bundle could be stuffed or, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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Analogous to the costume, corresponding to the ornaments of women, were pocket belts with bone handle (E. 2277) and the curved dagger, single²⁹, with sheath, 0.30 m.-0.40 m. long, the value of which varied according to the ornament and the material of the handle and sheath (E. 2282, 0.40 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a double acting as tip; E. 2283, 0.28 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's hair; E. 2284, 0.30 m. long with silver sheath and handle encased with turquoise). The proper chain or string, shikis, composed of 99 links was wound round the handle of the dagger. These handle could be of bone or other material, every link being marked (E. 2285 of bone; E. 2286 of fish pipe). As a rule the proper chain is carried between the thighs over

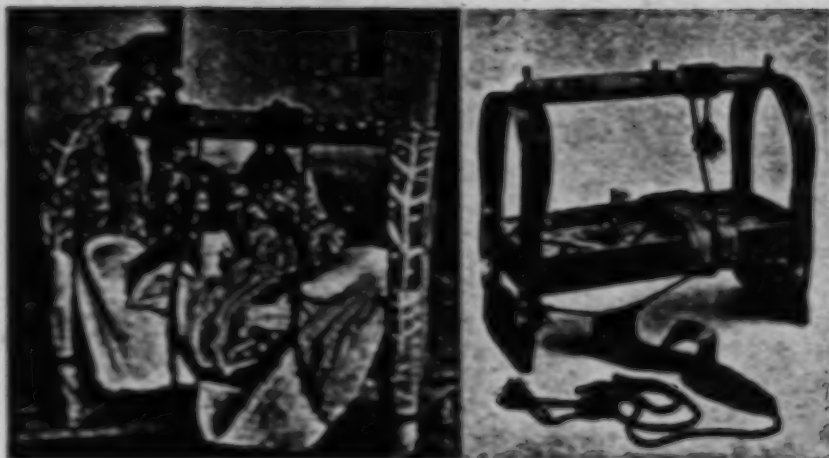


Fig. 64. Transportable cradle, Lybia, arranged for the child. Behind the cradle the child placed on a slight stand. (Solomon).

Fig. 65. Transportable cradle (E. 2204) with bandage (E. 2205-6) and cradle (E. 2206-7). The wire discharge pipe (E. 2208) placed upright in the hole in the bottom.

children and legs, holding the wire discharge pipe in position. The wooden cords that propped the bandages are passed under the cradle and then twisted round the heavy longitudinal carrying pole, the twists hanging as decoration and perhaps for amusement of the tied-up baby. The application of the abdominal bandage turns the child's legs outwards, and I discovered that this out-turned position of the feet persisted until the age of three²⁴. A small rag is placed under the baby to absorb any excrement, urine being taken by the pipe. I was told that a bottle or such like could be hung under the cradle²⁵, and that an arrangement of this kind was used during the winter in rooms covered with rugs, but I never saw this used in the summer on the roof, in the courtyard or in rooms without carpets, where all liquids running on to the ground or the floor evaporated immediately. Above the bandages a small quilt, *qifa*, could be laid. The cradle possesses a curtain. For a newly-born child this was of black material, suspended from the transverse carrying pole, so that the child lay as though in a day tent. For a slightly larger child a turquoise or purple wolf's curtain was hung up. This surrounded the whole cradle like a bag with an opening on the one side. The curtain, *perde*, (E. 2207) is formed of a piece of cloth 1.80 m. long and 0.54 m. broad. It is folded together into a bag of the same height and length as the cradle, and sewn together with a seam along the upper edge, with an opening on one side. If the night air on the roof was cool a woollen blanket was laid over the curtain to shield the child from draught. To enable the child to sleep peacefully it could be lulled with a white cotton rag.

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Fig. 16.

Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colors. (E. 2234). Topkapi.

long-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her own and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Surah of the Quran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *ruk'at*, ending in the kneeling position while reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Leybail⁹, the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3-8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *ruk'at*, whereas Gibb⁷ allows seven positions to each *ruk'at*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *ruk'at*.

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *ruk'at*, was usually said on the clay roof about 6 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *ruk'at*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., or did the evening prayer comprising four *ruk'at* at 9-10 p.m.

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